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alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry 726
uttered by women during combat; and *tomoo*, a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the [20] ●
tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows:

> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a 727
pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ha'au*) and left it there (9).

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

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CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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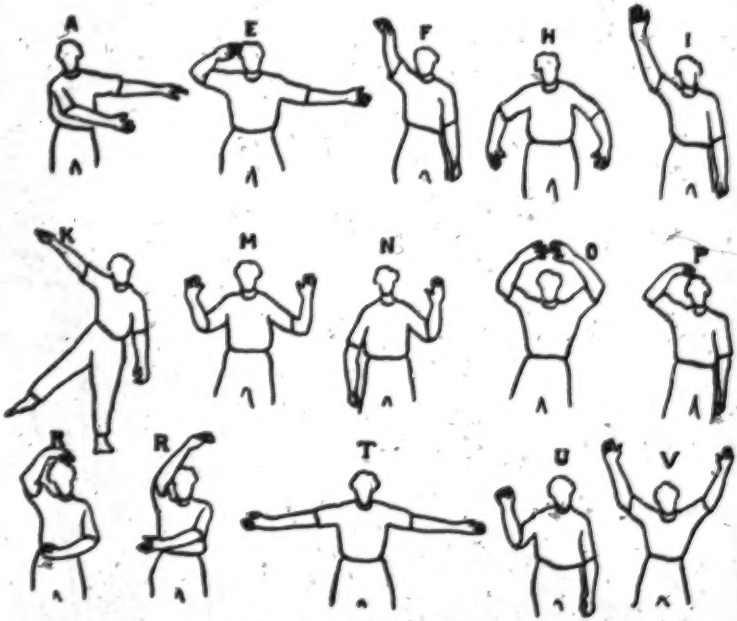

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriota*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 [534] The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

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A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father, other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bringing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *haka pahaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au patu-tiki*) and that *putu* were

/36 cont./
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence. 589 883

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, clothing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted. 883 548

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls. 883 515 832

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act. [201]